

The Republican.

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CRISIS.—No. IX.

AMIDST all the disasters and distresses by which this unhappy country is distracted, the first and most important object for consideration is, by what means can it be restored to tranquillity: and if those means are various, which of them will be the most efficient, and most easily, and most peaceably accomplished. One thing is admitted on all sides, that the present state of the representation must be amended, or rather, that the representation of the people must be revived, before there can be the slightest hope of having a single abuse diminished, or any one grievance redressed. If the King would turn reformer, (which by the bye is but very unlikely of his own accord) he has the power of choosing such an Administration as will make it their first object to effect a reform in the Parliament: and those ministers, even under the present state of things, might make a Parliament as it is now called, vote itself inadequate to settle the affairs of the nation in a tranquil manner, and further pass a resolution of the necessity of calling a National Convention to restore tranquillity to the country, rid it of its burthens, and regulate the future form of Government. This, at present, seems to be the only smooth and peaceable way of accomplishing this necessary and important object. The alternative is that of force, which is to be deprecated if the *desideratum* can possibly be effected without. A Convention of the People must take place sooner or later, and the sooner it is effected the better for all parties that are suffering, and the less likely to become the work of force and arms. It matters nothing where this Convention meets, it may as well meet in St. Stephen's Chapel, it may be called a Parliament; but it is become absolutely necessary that a

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deputation from the whole People should be called together somewhere, and some how. It is the only legitimate mode of settling the affairs of the nation, and of rescuing the country from its distresses and degradation. The nation as a whole, or acting by a deputation fully and fairly chosen, must necessarily be above all existing laws and establishments, and it is the very essence of society, that an appeal should be made to the whole body in a crisis of general disaster and distress. Such circumstances intimate that there has been something wrong in the existing establishments and institutions, and that the welfare of the whole has not been studied, but that corruptions and party interests have existed. To a representation of the whole nation in Parliament there can be no just individual complaint. There can be no just exceptions to this general rule. The people being the only legitimate source of all power, it is evident that a People are at all times capable of acting as a whole, to any purpose whatever. If there be a few individuals who, thriving under the existing abuses, deprecate a change, they ought either to acquiesce in the will of the majority, or silently secede into retirement in this country, or emigrate to another if they think proper: it is monstrous that a few thousand individuals should controul as many millions, and that too from motives not honest or virtuous. It is an incongruity in society and legislation that ought not to be tolerated for a moment.

The difficulties to be surmounted in this country, at this moment, seem to be so huge and multifarious, that the present Government is evidently afraid to grapple with them; at least, it does not appear to possess any thing like sympathy for the general suffering of the People. It affects splendour amidst general distress, and exists by extracting from misery itself its miserable pittance. It exists amidst the groans and curses of all the industrious part of the community, and all that is good and valuable. The Ministers are not blind, but deaf to all the distresses of the nation. They see, but do not feel them, and having no feeling for others, they are determined to make their harvest last as long as possible, which will be until the King dismisses them from fear, or the People by force. The King, from a desire to get rid of the Queen, has made himself a party to all the measures of his Ministers, on the condition of their consenting to assist him in the destruction of her Majesty; and from this connection he is unwilling to be severed, knowing, that no other Administration would take another step towards

the persecution of his wife; so that they may be viewed as fellows well met, and who have resolved to stand or fall together. Fear might induce the Ministers to resign, but I can never think the King will be willing to enforce that resignation; and another obstacle to that resignation is, that the Ministers have as much to fear in the one condition as in the other. They would fain ask for indemnity, but who can promise them any thing of the kind after such crimes as they have committed? However, we have one satisfaction in reflecting that the King, his Ministers, their adherents, and their opponents, are all working to one common focus—revolution, which at present appears to be the only visible path to a representative system of Government. The enemies of the country prove themselves the best, though unwilling, advocates of a revolution. As there does not appear to be any probable chance or possibility of settling the affairs of this convulsed realm without a full representation of the People in a Convention, or Parliament assembled, I would call upon the whole nation to direct its attention to that object, and that only. In consequence of what occurred in the National Convention of France, something like horror is affected at the title, but be it remembered, that a name cannot change the principles of a thing. Had the French National Convention been called a Parliament, a Cortes, or what not, its principles would have been the same: it was corrupted from without by foreign intrigue and influence, which became the sole cause of its sanguinary career. There is nothing of the kind to be feared again in France or any where else; the despots of Europe are deprived of their venomous powers; they have the will but not the power left to interrupt the progress of free Governments. They may crush it in such a country as Naples, but it will be found to take root in three or four other countries immediately. In fact, I shall not be surprized to see the crusade against liberty in Naples, by the Austrian Despot, be the immediate means of revolutionizing the whole of the South of Europe, leaving no part of Europe in a state of despotism, but the territories of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, with their dependencies, Sweden and Denmark. Let Italy, France, and England once breathe the spirit of freedom, and woe to all despots.

There is another circumstance evident, which must strongly enforce the necessity of a National Convention: nothing short of a full representation of the people can secure the Queen from further persecution and insult. As long as the

King finds the means and the power to annoy her, he will never cease, and from the conviction which the nation has of the Queen's innocence and ill-usage, it will remain in a continued state of distraction and hostility to the party in power, which alone can be fairly set at rest by a National Convention, as the only authority that can award to two individuals of that rank, their respective dues and merits. The Queen has a claim upon the gratitude of every honest and virtuous man and woman in Great Britain, and the nation will be not satisfied until she be in the full enjoyment of all to which she has a just claim, and all that can render her happy in future. This never can be effected but by a Reformed Parliament, because, without it, her enemies will retain their power, and retaining it, they will exercise it with all severity. I might here observe, that in speaking of a National Convention, I view it in no other light than I view the Cortes of Spain, which in every sense of the word, is a National Convention, and has shewn itself deserving of that high-sounding appellation. I seek to set up nothing new, or what is not intelligible and comprehensible to every man; for a National Convention might be strictly termed the natural system of Government. There is a nature in politics as well as in philosophy, and the closer it be adhered to, the more consonant will it be to the interests and feelings of all societies. In short, as government is the very nature and essence of society, so also should that government be in unison with the natural feelings of the majority of that society. It is bad and unnatural systems of Government which foster crimes and corruptions, and degrade societies of men instead of elevating them above brute animals. A Government should be at all times founded upon the will of the majority, and change as often as that will changes. It is ridiculous to see a Government venerating certain customs because they are antiquated, whilst a majority of the people hold those customs in ridicule and contempt. A Government like the present in England will always be in a state of hostility with a great majority of the people, and will always stand in need of a large and idle standing army for its protection. The people are far superior in mind to the system and management of the Government, consequently, they look upon it with contempt, and as something beneath them, and of which they ought to be ashamed. Their feeling is very similar to what that of the King would be if he were compelled to dress himself in the customs and habit of the country five or six centuries back, with one red and one

yellow stocking, a pair of breeches that came but half way down the thigh, with a pair of shoes having a long and sharp point turned up and fastened to the leg or the waist with gold chains and ornaments. Our Government is not a jot less ridiculous, and retains a strong resemblance to those old and laughable customs in dress.

Again, the financial state of the Government imperiously calls for a National Convention, as the present system and its supporters stand in the situation of insolvents, or rather offenders and criminals, who are not the proper persons to sit in judgment and decide on their own affairs. What is to be done with the thousand millions of debt? To think of paying it is madness—or to think of continuing a tax to pay its interest is madness. To compound it seems an impracticability, as the landholder will not willingly relinquish his lands—to me there seems but one rational and practicable mode of settling this business, and that is to apply the sponge to the whole debt, and in consequence of that measure to throw all the burthen of the future exigencies of the State upon the land, according to the system recommended in Mr. Harrison Wilkinson's pamphlet. This would be a fair retaliation upon the landholder for the loss of the fundholder. That there must be some sufferers is inevitable, but the great mass of the people have been sufferers for a long time, and have struggled in vain for the common necessaries and comforts of life, therefore our sympathy will be broken with regard to those who shall suffer by the breaking up of the funding system, knowing, that by industry, they may in future obtain a comfortable living, and in knowing also, that those who have been so long suffering from want will again begin to live somewhat like human beings. The funding system is of itself a germ of destruction for the present system of Government, and if all other opposition ceased, a National Convention would ultimately become an absolute necessity to settle this business.

It may be said that the present King, in his official character, has no authority to call a National Convention. Strictly speaking, he has not, but he has the indirect means if he has not the direct authority, and an appeal to the nation can never be considered illegal, or if our lawyers should call it so, they would only get laughed at for their pains. Even old John Scott, the Chancellor, would not venture to say then what he said on Horne Tooke's trial, that he hoped the King might be put to death if he took any steps to procure an alteration of the representation as it now stands.

But the authority to call a National Convention should rest somewhere, and if no where else, the resolutions of the several counties in public meetings assembled should be a sufficient authority, and would be a just and legal authority. It is evident and well known, that a National Convention, or a Reformed Parliament, is the wish and desire of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Great Britain, then why should it be delayed? I say nothing about Ireland, I wish to see it independent and acting for itself. The island of Great Britain is by no means too large for one Convention, and from the long union of England, Wales, and Scotland, it is desirable that they should form but one and the same Government. Ireland is an island sufficiently large to defend itself and to manage its own affairs, and all colonies sooner or later become an evil to the mother country. A National Convention would soon discover the necessity of converting all our colonies to free Republics. The Spanish Cortes has not yet began to act upon this system, but I doubt not that we shall see it done in another Session, if any portion of their colonies remains unconquered.

England has never yet known what a National Convention is, for at the commencement of the English House of Commons, the principles of government were but ill understood, and the Commons of England were kept in awe by the aristocracy; and whatever authority that House hath obtained, it has been by the dint of struggle with the King and the House of Lords. Our King's first thought that a House of Commons would in some measure check the insolence and turbulence of the Barons, and with this understanding they tacitly consented to its formation, but in the reign of James the First, when the Commons began to talk about the privilege and prerogative independent of the favour of the King or his nobles, the necessity of overawing or corrupting them was immediately seen, and the one or the other has been kept in practice ever since. The Stuarts manfully attempted to overawe them, but in consequence of their failure the Dutchman and the Hanoverian Guelphs have had recourse to corruption, and that but too successfully.

A National Convention would know nothing of parties, nor factions, nor aristocrats; it would comprise the voice of the nation—the people—in their common character of citizens. It would, as a matter of course, consult the welfare of the people as a whole, and not the pretended privileges of this person, or that person, of this body, or that body. Socie-

ties of men are apt to corrupt by being fixed to certain habits: it is a stagnation that is unwholesome and will ultimately destroy, without a timely regeneration. Motion is the first principle of nature, and without motion nature becomes clogged and unable to act beneficially. Men are apt to talk about the benefit of stability, but they mistake the true principle of stability in imagining that it consists in tying a body to one fixed position. Stability in politics consists in giving effect to the national will, and in making that will predominant. The national will should form the magnet of all institutions and government. To proceed well upon this plan, the more useful knowledge there was scattered among the mass of the people the more accomplished and useful would be all our institutions, and the opposite of the present system which studies to keep the great body of the people in a state of ignorance and under certain gross delusions, would be essential. It is a lamentable fact, that thousands of educated men, and those who have been improperly called philosophers, have argued the necessity of keeping the body of the people under what they call a state of happy delusion, that is, to fill their minds with a sort of popery both in politics and religion: but true philosophy will most assuredly rejoice in scattering useful knowledge as wide as possible, and not seek to confine it to a certain class of men, and call them a privileged order. It is a species of moral robbery, and the deprivation of useful knowledge is generally attended with an unjust and unequal deprivation of property. It is a state of society where ignorant industry is made to toil for indolence and despotism. True philosophy will ever denounce slavery in all its various shapes and bearings. It is allied to philanthropy, and will delight in dispelling ignorance, and in expanding the human mind with useful knowledge, as the latter delights to heal the wound of sorrow and misery, and comfort the sufferer. Sophistry might argue that the want of ignorance will not amend the morals of mankind, but time will convince us of the contrary. Every thing that is calculated to elevate the mind of man will improve his morality, and on the contrary, immorality is the sure attendant of a debased mind. Luxury and despotism is calculated to debase the mind of man, and its opposites want and slavery have the same effect; but the nearer we keep to the middle course the better will be the state of morals. Each of the above states is fatal to the progress and attainment of useful knowledge, and consequently the cause of the absence of morality. Let the lover of morality discourage

the vices of luxury and despotism, and encourage the progress and dissemination of useful knowledge, and he will act consistent with his profession, but not otherwise: without this his practice will belie his profession, which is evidently the case with Sidmouth, Wilberforce, Gambier, Kenyon, and the rest of the hypocritical members of that society, which professes to associate for the suppression of vice. They are the avowed supporters of despotism and oppression, and the avowed opposers of all other knowledge than that idle nonsense which the Bible affords.

A National Convention would become a great national school, whence every inhabitant of the country would derive useful instruction, merely by watching the actions of those who represent him. At present we feel nothing but disgust at reading parliamentary debates, and sicken at the sophistry, the corruptions, the despotism, and the servility of the legislature. But this last attempt to destroy the Queen has crowned the whole, and has stamped with indelible infamy the present system of Government. We have been shewn most clearly that the advocates and adherents of the present system have no regard for morality or decency, if the contrary be necessary to support their views and wishes. They have written immorality, perjury, and villainy, on their own foreheads, and in a character too legible to be erased. Let us no more hear the advocates of Parliamentary Reform accused of any vices. We stand as chaste and pure as the blossoms of May when compared with our opponents. The advocates of reform have now every thing on their side but brute power or armed force: they have long excelled in numbers, and now it has been made apparent that they excel in all that can add to the happiness and welfare of society—moral virtue. There can now be no rational or decent objection offered to a National Convention, as our opponents by their conduct towards the Queen have loudly proclaimed its necessity. It is barbarous and horrible to think that this country must continue to be swayed by Castlereagh, Liverpool, Eldon, and Sidmouth, with that foul blot upon them of having hired all the perjury that Italy could afford to destroy an innocent woman. If they are to continue in power this country will justly become the symbol of every thing that is vile and corrupt. We must hear no more idle bragging about British honours, British generosity, and British valour: these laurels must be strewed on the tomb of the Bill of Pains and Penalties.

The very aristocrats of Birmingham have publicly as-

serted that the people had better be decimated at once than live any longer under the present system of taxation: but how is this taxation to be reduced but by a National Convention? To me it seems impossible that the present system of Government, which has contracted all this debt, taxation, and misery, can move a step to abate it: at least, they cannot do it with any thing like consistency or without admitting their former misconduct. We find them year after year talking about an improvement in commerce, but each year grows worse and worse, and I am of opinion that the Ministers themselves know, as well as I do, that it must grow worse and worse, and that their whole and sole object is to leave the country a wreck, but first to grapple all the plunder they can from it. Let us consider for a moment what a dreadful waste of money has been made this year, and all to no purpose, in preparing for the ceremony of the coronation, and in prosecuting the charge against the Queen. Money enough to have maintained every poor family in the country for a month, I'll warrant it! And all this waste of money has been made, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to borrow seventeen millions for the current expences of the year! In addition to the above expenditure, and the secret service money, the Solicitor to the Treasury has drawn eighty thousand pounds for law expences in sending a few reformers to gaol! A sum of money that formerly would have supported all the expences of Government for a year! The present Ministers one would imagine had a desire to accelerate the Crisis of their own downfal, did we not fear that they will just save time to convey their plunder to some other country at the close of their career. We may expect to see them begin to clear out immediately, and in a few months betake themselves to the Continent.

That at present there is some difficulty in getting together a National Convention without the consent and assistance of the King, I can readily perceive; but the whole of the public voice should be bent to that one object, and speak in language like thunder to the King, if he continues obstreperous. The nation cannot, must not tolerate such a game as was played by a few aristocrats in 1688. The Dutch William was completely forced down the throats of the people: he was by no means their choice, and it might be fairly said that he conquered them by intrigue instead of arms. The Convention of 1688, was not a National Convention, it was a Dutch Convention, a Court Convention, or a mere cabal of courtiers, who never for a moment consult-

ed the interests of the people. The Whigs of the present day will be for playing a similar game, if they are not well watched and kept down, or at least deterred by the public voice from any such a line of conduct. The advocates of the revolution in the monarchy in 1688, were and are the abettors of treason in every sense of the word, and treason ought never to go unpunished, I mean treason to the country; I acknowledge no treason as relative to individuals, although the persons to whom I allude were even guilty of that species of treason, in addition to the other. There is a strange inconsistency in adhering to men as monarchs at a moment of any great national change, and the honest man would do best to lose sight of the man who fills the office of monarch and look well to his country. Let the monarch and the monarchy takes its own chance in the storm: both are unworthy the attention of the patriot, particularly, when that storm is occasioned by the individual filling the office of monarch.

I shall conclude this article by repeating, that a National Convention is the only legal, rational, and straight forward mode of settling the affairs of this distracted nation. Whatever other power, short of a National Convention, attempts to meddle with a reformation of abuses, it will but make matters worse. It will prove a species of quackery that will probably destroy the patient, and if not destroy him, will make him still worse by new pains and tortures. The nation as a whole is alone equal to the task of its own regeneration. The knowledge of the necessity and utility of the representative system of Government has made so extensive a progress in England and Scotland that nothing else will suffice and satisfy the people. In the year 1688, the people had an idea of the representative system of Government, or it is not probable that they would have set down so quiet under the trick that was played upon them. Let those beware who have any idea of making that period a precedent for the present: that revolution was founded on no one good principle but that of expelling James: we are now in a much worse state than the country was at that time, and it is become absolutely necessary to the future safety, and essential to the interests of the country, that we should now revert to the first principles of Government—a NATIONAL CONVENTION.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Nov. 24, 1820.

ESCAPE OF MRS. CARLILE

From the Fangs of the Vice Society, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties, got up and prosecuted by Pritchard, the Lawyer; Gurney, the Parrot Face Counsellor; and Best, the vindictive, hobbling, and blinking tool of Eldon, Leech, Castlereagh and Co., and compeers with the Milan Commission;—supporters of Perjury, Filth and Corruption; legalized Demoralizers, and denouncers of public and moral Virtue.

THE Bill of Pains and Penalties, which has been prepared for Mrs. Carlile by the Vice Society, the English Majocchis, De Monts, Sacchis, Rastellis, Cuchis, Vilmacartis, Omp-tedas, Grims, Redens, Browns, Stewarts, Leechs, Cooks, Powells, &c., has suffered an exact similar fate in one of the little Houses of Lords, as the one against the Queen in the great House of Lords. This Bill went through a third reading, and on the motion "that it do now pass" which took place on the 25th ult. the prosecutor himself was obliged to give it up from a sense of its wickedness and cruelty, and Mrs. Carlile returned home in triumph, amidst the cheers and congratulations of her friends, and to the satisfaction of every honest and liberal mind in the country.

The Vice-Society, in prosecuting this Bill, rather overcharged it, that is, they put in two books into one indictment, and the stupid jury, who formed the Secret Committee to examine the bag of slander, did not pay sufficient attention to it, to see what it really contained, but without hesitation wrote on the back of the indictment, "a true bill on both counts;" thinking, as they saw two books laid before them, there were but two counts, but the indictment had three counts, and neither of them was distinguished as true or false by the Secret Committee! On the second reading the packed judges gave a verdict according to order, generally on the whole of the counts, without the least examination of the indictment. After passing the third reading, and keeping Mrs. Carlile about the Court almost every day throughout the term, it was found to be a string of lies and slander, and the disappointed Lords began to hang their lips, and "grin horribly a ghastly smile," because they had

lost their victim. So far Mrs. Carlile has triumphed over her vile and vindictive persecutors. But, lo! the Attorney General, who is so expert with his *ex officio* informations immediately sent a warrant and three officers to arrest her, and they actually took her away again from her home to the Serjeant's Inn Coffee House, and after doing all they could to frighten her, they let her return home the same evening without bail, on her promise to appear in Court the next morning. This circumstance actually occurred the very next day that it was found the former indictment was good for nothing.

Mrs. C. is now enjoying the laugh at the Members of the Vice Society, who are beginning to brood over their sorrows and disgraceful discomfitures on all sides. The following is a copy of the Attorney General's Information on the Republican, No. 8, Vol. 3.

COPY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S NEW
BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES AGAINST
MRS. CARLILE.

To be tried at the sitting of Nisi Prius to be holden by Adjournment after this Term, in and for the City of London.

LONDON (TO WIT)

Nov. 24, 1820.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that Sir Robert Gifford, Knight, Attorney General of our present Sovereign Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King, prosecutes in this behalf, in his proper person, comes here into the Court of our said Lord the King, before the King himself, at Westminster, on Tuesday next, after the Morrow of Saint Martin, in this same Term, and, for our said Lord the King, gives the Court here to understand and be informed, that Jane Carlile late of London, bookseller, the wife of Richard Carlile, being a person of a wicked and depraved mind and disposition, and unlawfully and wickedly contriving and intending to move and excite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King, to the commission of the crime of murder, heretofore (to wit) on the seventeenth day of June, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Fourth, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, at London aforesaid, in the Parish of Saint Mary-le-Bow, in the ward of Cheap, unlawfully and wickedly did publish and cause to be published, a certain wicked and mischievous libel, containing therein (amongst other things) divers wicked and mischievous matters and things, of and concerning the persons employed by our said Lord the King, in the administration of the Government and affairs of this Realm, according to the tenor following (that is to say) "I will now come to the point

“with you, and tell you more than you seem to ask, lest you should say that I evade the question. In the first place I hold the destruction of tyrants by putting them to death suddenly and violently, or if you should think I am not sufficiently explicit, by assassinating them to be an act just, moral, virtuous, and legal, agreeable to the law of nature, which should be the foundation of all other law. A tyrant is the common destroyer of his species, and any member of that community in which he dwells and plays the tyrant, that shall receive any injury from him, may, in my opinion, meritoriously put him to death. The moralist, or a man with the most humane mind, will stand aloof and ask himself the following question, which would have been the greatest outrage on the laws, morals, and welfare of this society, that this man, who is an avowed and admitted tyrant should fall by the hand of one whom he has injured, or that he should have lived to have made unhappy, miserable, and in continued fear for their lives and properties, every member of this society that should not feel disposed to flatter and applaud his wicked measures? give me an answer to this last question, in the same frank and candid manner in which I am answering your question, and I will give you my opinion of your morality and virtue; with respect to the plot and measures in which those men, whom you call Cato Street Conspirators, were seduced, and involved by our Ministers (meaning the said persons employed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the Government and affairs of this realm) and their agents, they have my decided disapprobation; but, as I consider that the majority of the present Ministers (meaning the said persons employed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the Government and affairs of this realm) are tyrants, and enemies to the interests and welfare of the people of this country, so also am I bold to confess, that if any man who has suffered unjustly under their administration, should be so far indifferent about his own life as to slay any one or more of them. I would tune my lyre to sing his praises. I consider it to be a want of virtue and true courage that makes a man seek companions to perform such an act, and a proof that he calls upon others to do that which he has not resolution to do single-handed; and in seeking men that will cooperate with him he is sure to fall in with the most vicious of mankind, and mar all the good he might have done as an individual. I condemn an association for such purposes.” In contempt of our said Lord the King, and his laws; to the evil example of all others, and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity.

Second Count—And the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, for our said Lord the King, further gives the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said Jane Carlile, so being such person as aforesaid, and unlawfully and wickedly contriving and intending to move and excite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King to the commission of the crime of murder heretofore (to wit,) on the said seventeenth day of June, in the first year of the

reign aforesaid, at London aforesaid, in the Parish and Ward aforesaid, unlawfully and wickedly did publish, and cause to be published, a certain other wicked and mischievous libel containing therein, amongst other things, divers wicked and mischievous matters and things according to the tenor following (that is to say,) "I will now come to the point with you, and tell you more than you seem to ask, lest you should say that I evade the question. In the first place I hold the destruction of tyrants by putting them to death suddenly and violently, or if you should think I am not sufficiently explicit, by assassinating them, to be an act just, moral, virtuous, and legal, agreeable to the law of nature, which should be the foundation of all other law. A tyrant is the common destroyer of his species, and any member of that community in which he dwells and plays the tyrant, that shall receive any injury from him, may, in my opinion, meritoriously put him to death. The moralist, or a man with the most humane mind, will stand aloof and ask himself the following question, which would have been the greatest outrage on the laws, morals, and welfare, of this society: that this man, who is an avowed and admitted tyrant, should fall by the hand of one whom he has injured, or that he should have lived to have made unhappy, miserable, and in continual fear for their lives and properties, every member of this society that should not feel disposed to flatter and applaud his wicked measures? Give me an answer to this last question in the same frank and candid manner in which I am answering your question, and I will give you my opinion of your morality and virtue; with respect to the plot and measures in which those men, whom you call Cato-street Conspirators, were seduced and involved by our ministers, and their agents; they have my decided disapprobation, but as I consider that the majority of the present ministers are tyrants, and enemies to the interests and welfare of the people of this country, so also am I bold to confess, that if any man who has suffered unjustly, under their administration, should be so far indifferent about his own life as to slay any one, or more of them, I would tune my lyre to sing his praises. I consider it to be a want of virtue and true courage that makes a man seek companions to perform such an act; it is a proof that he calls upon others to do that which he has not resolution to do single-handed; and in seeking men that will co-operate with him he is sure to fall in with the most vicious of mankind, and mar all the good he might have done as an individual, I condemn an association for such purposes." In contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others, and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity. Whereupon the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King in this behalf prosecutes, prays the consideration of the Court here in the premises, and that due process of law may be awarded against the said Jane Carlile, in this behalf, to make her answer to our said Lord the King, touching and concerning the premises aforesaid.

INTENDED PROTEST OF MRS. CARLILE AGAINST THE VICE SOCIETY'S OLD BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES.

May it please your Lordships,

As I am not conscious of having done that which is wrong, or which, in a moral point of view, might be considered wrong, I do not stand here to ask for mercy: I feel that I should debase myself, and acknowledge what I have never yet felt, were I to appeal to the mercy of the Court for any action of mine. I come then to lay before your Lordships such reasons as I can advance, to shew why this Court ought not to inflict any punishment, in consequence of a Jury having given a verdict of Guilty against me, upon an indictment, the charge of which rendered it a moral impossibility that I could have been guilty. The indictment charges, that I did sell, utter, and publish, unlawfully and wickedly, in the month of January last, two publications, the one entitled, "Sherwin's Life of Thomas Paine," the other, "The Republican," No. 9, Vol. I.

I will state two reasons to your Lordships to shew that I could not sell those publications unlawfully and wickedly, or with any bad intent. In the first place, I had never read those publications to my knowledge, or so as to have any distinct recollection of them. I considered myself safe and doing nothing improper in selling either of those publications, and it was but a very small number of copies that I had for sale, because they were published in the former year, and had been on sale up to the time of all my husband's property being violently seized and carried off the premises, as I am bound to suppose, according to law. The volume, entitled "Sherwin's Life of Thomas Paine" was published in the summer of 1819, or somewhere about Midsummer, and must have been on sale no less than four months of that year: it was exposed in the shop, during that time, for sale; it was advertised in all the public papers, and not the slightest complaint was ever heard against it during that time. With regard to the number of the Republican, it was published in the month of October of the same year, and no less a number than twelve thousand were circulated within a week of its first publication; a sufficient

number to have called forth any complaint if it had been intended. I had never heard the least complaint against it, or the former volume, when I opened the shop in January, consequently I felt assured that I was doing nothing wrong in selling them.

My second reason is, that when I opened the shop in January, I carefully avoided the sale of such works as had been prosecuted; and even the report of my husband's trials I abstained from selling at a very great loss, because your Lordships had granted a criminal information against it. On the fourteenth of February last, I received a Valentine from the "Society for the Suppression of Vice," informing me, that they had retracted their former ungentlemanly conduct by countermanding the notice of trial on this criminal information against a woman. This I considered to have been in consequence of my so stopping the sale, and so far I had flattered myself that I should obtain the favour of the very virtuous, meek, moral, and religious members of this Society: and I had contemplated the idea of sending the Secretary a few cards of my address and business for the Members of the Society, with a hope that, as the Society had made me a widow, or something worse than a widow, and had left my children, fatherless, I might, as a bookseller, receive the favours of some of its members. But, alas! even at this moment, when they had elated my mind with a release from the criminal information, they were plotting further mischief against me by obtaining the indictment for which I now stand before your Lordships; and within ten days of my release from the former, I was dragged from my home by a warrant issued under the sanction of the latter; and thus all my hopes were again blasted. These I submit to your Lordships, as strong reasons why no punishment should be inflicted upon me: but I wish to state a few remarks on another part of the indictment for your Lordships consideration.

I disclaim, my Lords, the charge of blasphemy which it imputed to me; I feel a moral conviction that nothing which I have ever published can truly bear such a charge; I feel that my mind shudders at the idea of blasphemy, which, in the common acceptation of the word, I take to be an evil speaking of the Deity. I do not profess to be a Theologian or skilled in Polemics, as I have always considered my domestic duties, as a wife and a mother, to be of more importance; as far as my observation has gone, I have always found the professors of much religion to be the possessors of

much hypocrisy, and, in consequence, I have abstained from joining or following any sect. I feel a reverential awe towards the Deity, which my mind assures me to be all the religion that is necessary or required; and as to my moral duties, I seek to guide myself by the grand and all-sufficient maxim of doing to another that, which I would wish should be done unto myself.

Upon the strength of this last maxim, my Lords, I would ask by what moral authority can one person insist upon the regulations of the opinions of another, without first shewing the rectitude and propriety of his own with a sufficient force to carry conviction to the mind of the other. It is not in human nature to alter its own opinions without a previous and due conviction of error. Persecution and force may make hypocrites but it cannot change opinions. On the other hand, it is calculated to strengthen what it wishes to destroy, as it seems to arise more from the fear of, than a reverence for, truth. Nature and reason, aided by the printing press, will assert their sway over every thing that bears the appearance or the character of superstition, and will become the best vouchers for truth and correct opinions.

I have been led into those observations, my Lords, in consequence of the vulgar clamour of blasphemy having been imputed to me, and for which I am brought here for the judgment of this Court. I disclaim the charge, because I cannot feel it. It is an idle clamour which hypocrisy has encouraged and persecution has kept up in all ages and in all nations. It is a word, which in conjunction with another idle and vulgar word called heresy, has been tossed about from one sect of Christians to the other, and all have been equally subject to its influence and pernicious persecution in their turn. By the same spirit, which now calls upon your Lordships to punish me, were the heretics, the blasphemers, and the witches of old punished. Those words have been used as so many shuttlecocks, by both Pagan, Jew, and Christian, each retorting it on the other. A moment's reflection must convince your Lordships, that they are mere words of sound, and have no distinct and real application. For instance, the word blasphemy is construed to imply an evil speaking of the Deity: now the mind that has a due comprehension of the Deity cannot speak evil of it: and the mind that has not that due comprehension cannot speak evil of that which it does not comprehend, and of which it has no knowledge or idea: either way the word becomes a moral impossibility. The careful and impartial observer can perceive, that it is exact

the same word now as it was eighteen hundred years since, when the pure, the virtuous, the meek, the moral Jesus, was subjected to its persecuting influence. By way of illustrating what I say, I would draw your Lordships' attention to a quotation from Matthew's Gospel, chap. xxvi. ver. 63 to 67, inclusive. "But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy, What think ye? They answered and said, he is guilty of death. Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him; and others smote him with the palms of their hands." Here, my Lords, is an exact prototype of my persecution, as far as the word blasphemy goes, and those, who have pursued me to this Court, and wish to pursue me from this Court to a prison, would crucify another Jesus if he were to live again in this country.

It is evident to every reflecting mind, that this species of persecution arises from strong party feeling. I felt the danger to which I was exposed in opening the shop on my own responsibility, and consequently, I laid in a stock of Bibles and Religious Tracts, recollecting, that when Mr. Justice Bailey passed the sentence of the Court on my husband, his Lordship observed, that it would have been an extenuation of the offence of publishing the Age of Reason, if the works of Watson, Jenyns, or Littleton had been sent forth with it. My husband had actually published Dr. Watson's answer, or the Apology for the Bible, and in addition to this I resolved to sell every thing of the kind that would sell, by way of being doubly sure. Even at the time on which this indictment is laid, my window must have been filled with Bibles and religious tracts, and so it continued for several weeks, until I found that I could not turn a single penny by them after I had been at the expence of laying in a stock. I found the general observation on those publications to be, that we need not buy them, if we want them they are to be had for nothing, as they are commonly given away. I assure your Lordships, that my object and wish was to be an impartial bookseller, and if I have sold any Deistical publications, it has been entirely in deference to the wishes of

my husband, whom I am religiously bound to obey, even according to the Christian code; for St. Paul teaches, that a woman may not reject her husband because he may not be of the faith, but rather seek by condescension and chaste conversation to win and save him. Individually I am not partial, and I never once found my husband anxious to impress his opinions upon my mind, although I believe I may vouch for the sincerity of his own professions. I must confess, that the two publications for which I have been indicted strongly impugn the religion of the law: and your Lordships, as judges of the law, in taking cognizance of matters of religion, make it dependent upon, and subservient to, the law. It has been well observed by a writer in an examination of Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, that "Religion being purely a spiritual and internal thing, consisting in the inward real persuasion, temper, and disposition of the mind, a religion established by law, can be nothing but an ecclesiastical phantom, since the law might as well make a God as a religion." It is only, my Lords, since the Protestant establishment has superseded the Catholic, that the Christian religion in England has been under the protection of, or connected with, the law: the Christians of the twelve centuries, from the fourth to the sixteenth, would have spurned the idea; and I am inclined to believe, that if any one, within that time, had said that Christianity was part and parcel of the law, and that the law would protect it, he would have been sent to the stake as a reviler of the religion, or as a heretic and a blasphemer. I forbear to state my ideas of the causes of this change, as I have no wish to excite latent prejudices: but even taking up the argument on the ground of the religion of this day being a part of the law, I would ask, is not the law open to the honest animadversion of every man? I have yet to learn that the laws of England are like unto those of the Medes and Persians of old, which changed not. The Parliament of England renders the laws as mutable as the human mind; and it is the bounden duty of every honest man to point out what he conceives to be a defect, and to shew how it might be amended.

If the first Christians had not impugned the laws of the Roman empire, Christianity had never supplanted the Pagan religion. If Luther, Calvin, and other reformers, had not impugned the ecclesiastical laws under which they lived, the Protestant Church had never been established, and your Lordships, as Roman Catholic Judges, would then have

felt an equal authority and justification in sending me to the stake, as now to a prison. This kind of persecution and pretended violation of law will most assuredly continue, whilst one sect or party can wield the sword of the law over the other, and until all opinions bear equal authority, and stand or fall alone by the force of reason and persuasion. Morals will continue to be outraged by the violence of party power, and our courts of justice will continue to be profaned and blurred by the vices of persecution. Party feeling will only increase and grow stronger whilst opinions are subject to legal restraint, and, although your Lordships to-day have the power of sending me to a prison, the circumstance will be only calculated to make way for another victim to a similar oppression; in your next session, my Lords, you will or may have a similar task to perform. I would address to your Lordships the observation of Tertullian to the Emperor Trajan, when pleading in the behalf of the persecuted Christians: "If you condemn, why not inquire? If you do not inquire, why not acquit?"

I am confident that every liberal mind in the country will rejoice to hear that I am set free from this persecution, and your Lordships will find applause for lenity and good sense in so doing. Example is the object of punishment, at least, morality requires that it should be so; but here, where certain opinions are held to be offensive and punished by a party, or, at least, where punishment is called for by a party, it serves but as a stimulus to the party injured, and cannot operate as an example. I would instance the case of my husband, my Lords, you have sent him to a distant gaol for three years, where he cannot breathe the open air on any other conditions than as one about to take a trial for high treason, and where even the felon and the murderer find less restraint and more lenity: you have inflicted a fine of £.1500 upon him, which has swept away all his property, and which by destroying a profitable business, deprived him of the possibility of ever paying that fine. But I would ask, my Lords, what effect has it had in the way of example? Whilst there be a man in England who retains the spirit of a man, his first desire will be to resist and counteract such oppression. Those very books which your Lordships call holy forbid such measures—those very books whose protection is sought or affected to be sought.

I have now merely to add, that if, unfortunately for me, it should be your Lordships' opinion, that the religion of the law stands in need of my imprisonment for its safety and

protection ; I ask not mercy, but for the sake of my children, I would ask the favour of being sent to the same prison and of being confined with my husband ; for where I go my children must follow me, and we can be no where so well situated as with their father, from whom I have no fear but they will receive the best of moral instruction. I have not a friend in London to whom I can confide them with safety and satisfaction, and wherever I go I must beg to be allowed to take them with me.

MORE POLITICAL LIBEL JUDGMENTS.

THE insatiate maw of corruption still preys with redoubled fury, on all the virtue and honesty of the country. Our Judges pander to her appetite with an increased diligence, and still, like the grave, she never cries—Enough. Messrs. Russell and Osborne, of Birmingham, have to linger another winter in prison, the one for eight months, the other for twelve, for selling a number of the Republican. We felt surprised at the Easter Term, to see so many persons sentenced to short periods of imprisonment ; but it now seems, it was to answer the purpose of further prosecution. Some of the defendants were sentenced so that they might come out of prison just in time to take another trial at the Assizes in August, for which the Judges knew that indictments were prepared : this has been the case of Mr. Osborne, and although he has relinquished the sale of political pamphlets, our persecuting Judges have not relinquished their power of persecution. Mr. Osborne has now to spend twelve months in Cold Bath Fields Prison, unless a revolution takes place before the expiration of that time, which is not the least of present probabilities. Mr. Russel seemed in a dying state, and the Judges seemed to think, that to hasten his death would be a mercy, for this unfortunate man has been more harassed than any other sufferer that I know in the country. In November last, Judge Abbot had the conscience to sit and hear, and to advise a sentence of six months imprisonment upon him, for selling a copy of the Litany three mouths after Mr. Hone, the original publisher, had been acquitted, although a stupid Warwick Jury recommended Russel to Judge Abbot for mercy, but found him guilty. If those Judges were not Atheists, and that of the worst species, they

could never steel their bosoms to wound and destroy so many innocent men as they do. It is more than probable that Russell will breathe his last in prison this winter, and he will have been murdered in the strictest sense of the word.

"Mr. Lewis, for a libel upon the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester, with a few indecorous hints of the necessity of caution, to a high personage, is to be imprisoned for two years in Okeham Gaol, besides a fine of £50, and securities for five years in £300."

Mr. Brandis, of Birmingham, has received a sentence of twelve months imprisonment in Cold Bath Fields Prison, for publishing something called a libel, and only so, because it was well written, and honest in its intention. Mr. Chapman, of Manchester, has some months to pass in the same prison for similar good conduct. Sir Francis Burdett seems to let the whole host of lawyers play with his purse-strings, and while this be the case, the Judges will assist them in filching as far as possible; we doubt whether ever the Baronet will now see the inside of a prison. He does not seem to have any taste for it. As yet we are not aware whether we shall be able to add any others to the above list; there is a host in reserve, only they struggle hard to keep out of the prison, though much against the inclination of the Judges. A prison is now become the sure path to fame in all political cases. It forms the best proof of honesty and good intention, for our Ministers know the men that are opposed to them much better than we know each other. By their agents and system of espionage they know the private affairs and the private disposition of every man that is opposed to them. A prison is by no means a disgrace but rather a mark of favour, and a degree of promotion in opposing such men as the present Ministers. To us it appears that they will begin to imprison by wholesale in the spring of the next year, if they keep their places until that time. If the present Ministers are to reign over us, that reign will be one of terror, such as France exhibited under the Robespierrian faction. We see what they are capable of doing by their manner of breaking up the last session of Parliament. Castlereagh delights in human blood and human sacrifice, and he will strain every nerve to play another such game as he played in Ireland. The Despots of the Continent appear disposed to play a similar game, and we rather think the declaimers at home about the propriety of resistance on certain occasions will be fairly put to the test before another summer approaches.

EDITOR.

TO MR. CARLILE.

Manchester, Nov. 20, 1820.

MUCH ESTEEMED SIR,

A FEW friends to universal liberty hope you will accept of the enclosed one pound note towards meeting your enormous fine, and the great expences arising from your prosecution and unjust imprisonment.

We, Sir, return our most hearty thanks to you for the great good you have done in the cause of universal liberty. We give you great praise for the manly conduct and undaunted courage with which you have combated corruption in both Church and State.

You, Sir, have opened the eyes of hundreds of our fellow-citizens in and about the town of Manchester; those people who were the first to condemn you, are now the first to sing your praises; they have began to unlock their senses, and are determined they will no longer be guided by false pretences. They have began to shake off the fetters of superstition that are held together by prejudice; they have began to inquire about Nature and her laws. They see that you have been the avowed advocate of truth and sobriety. We admire your publications as being the only productions that can elevate the mind. They have Reason for their basis, and Justice for their guide. But when that Vice Society, that sink of corruption, properly called the Society for the Suppression of Virtue, lays hold of your publications, they instantly condemn it as being a scandalous, blasphemous, and wicked publication, tending only to irritate and cause disaffection in the minds of the people. We rejoice that such a man as you adorns the age we live in. Go on, noble Sir, in the great cause you have in hand; it is the cause of truth, justice, and equity. Truth, as it regards matters of opinion—justice, as it regards freedom—equity, as it regards our rights, which when once properly obtained is universal liberty.

This is the cause we are struggling in. This is the cause for which you are incarcerated within the walls of a prison for three years, with a fine on your back of £1,500! For a mere nothing, only because you did not think as they did.

It is for the cause in which the Reformers of Manchester bled on St. Peter's Field on the never-to-be-forgotten 16th of August, 1819, and for which Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, died on the scaffold. We are sensible that our rights and liberties have been violated in our persons by a wicked and corrupt administration, sanctioned and supported by a profligate priesthood. It is reason that has illuminated the mind of man, and has dispelled bigotry and superstition into the whirlpool of oblivion. It is on thee, O Reason! that all good Governments must be founded, and what are not thus founded must be in error, and are therefore corrupted. A Republican system of Government is by far the most consistent, the most rational, the most agreeable with common sense, with the order of Nature, and with every thing that makes mankind happy and comfortable. Therefore, seeing the good effects that must follow such a Government, we profess ourselves candidly and openly to be Republicans, as we are the inveterate enemies of a despotic administration, and every other sort of tyranny and misrule. You, Sir, have more than baffled your enemies in their attempt to put you down and to stop your publications. Do they think that dungeons, gags, axes, hangings, long imprisonment, or enormous fines, can stop the progress of truth and free discussion? No—it is the only way to propagate it. Therefore, we say, go on, ye despicable tyrants, with all the base malignity you can invent, the means you take defeat your ends. We, Sir, return our most sincere thanks to you for your steady, persevering conduct in vindicating the cause of universal liberty.

We were not alarmed in the least when we heard that a packed jury had found a verdict of guilty against Mrs. Carlile. But we were astonished that ever there were any proceedings against so mild, so harmless, and so beautiful a quotation as that she was charged with. We commend her independent spirit. She is a pattern to her sex, and an example to posterity. With the hope that you and your family may triumph over your enemies, we remain your faithful friends and well-wishers to the cause of universal liberty.

I subscribe myself on behalf of the above,
JOSEPH CHORLTON.

Rider's Row, London Road.

TO MR. JOSEPH CHORLTON.

SIR,

I RETURN to you, in conjunction with my friends at Manchester, my sincere thanks for the tribute you have paid to my humble efforts in the cause of universal liberty. I am fully aware that I have made a most violent attack upon the prejudices of a great portion of my countrymen, who were earnest in seeking a political reform, but who had never dreamt of the necessity of having that reform accompanied with a reform in matters of religion: but I have the conscious satisfaction of knowing, that a few years, perhaps a few months, will convince every such man of the necessity and propriety of what I have done.

So strong is my conviction of the necessity of demanding a free discussion on all subjects, that I should consider we had gained nothing were I to see a Reformed Parliament supporting sectarian prejudices, which I verily think would have been the case if I had not taken the line of attacking the abuses of all sects and all prejudices. There was sufficient superstition in the country two years since to have produced a Parliament like the one in the seventeenth century, that made longer prayers than speeches on all subjects of debate and legislation. Besides, it may be clearly seen in the present persecution of the Queen, that a State religion is the main proof and strongest hold of despotism. It is under this feeling that I have acted, knowing that all kinds of religion, which is set forth in books, has its foundation in fable and imposture. I am fully sensible that I might have gained much more momentary popularity not to have meddled with any religion question, but I felt the duty to be irresistible, and its necessity so important, that I am quite content to wait the decay of the prejudices of the great body of Reformers on this point, knowing, that finally we shall fully agree, and shake hands on the propriety of my conduct. Until then I shall proceed in my present course, heedless of the clamours of any sect or party.

I am, Sir, the friend of no liberty but that
which is universal,

R. CARLILE.

VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO ST. PAUL'S

YESTERDAY was the day appointed by the Queen for her proceeding to St. Paul's to offer up thanks in public for her late signal deliverance from the malice of her enemies. In this public act of devotion and thanksgiving her Majesty followed the example of his late Majesty George the Third, who proceeded to the great Cathedral Church of London on his recovery from his first indisposition, in 1789. On the occasion of the visit of the late King, nor on that of any other public procession that we remember, was the public curiosity and enthusiasm excited to such an extent as yesterday.

At an early hour in the morning the streets of the metropolis, in the line through which her Majesty was to pass, became crowded with passengers; some hastening towards the great western entrance of the town, others endeavouring to secure themselves places to see the procession as it passed. The inhabitants of houses in the Strand, Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, and the other great thoroughfares, seemed to anticipate the effects of the great pressure of the multitude, by stopping up their doors, and baricading the lower parts of their windows. In many places beams were nailed across the door-ways, so that, but for the presence of elegantly dressed females who filled every window long before the approach of the procession, it might be supposed every house was preparing for a siege. The cross streets which led into the great line of thoroughfare within the city, were also stopped by beams; behind them waggons were drawn up, with seats raised one behind another. Of course, in all these situations seats became a marketable commodity. So great was the anxiety to obtain a good view of the procession, either for those who wished to be at ease or were unable to struggle with the crowd, that various sums, from five shillings to two guineas, were given for single stations at the windows. The waggons, of course, admitted spectators on more "reasonable terms;" but arranged as they were in the openings of the cross streets they afforded, as far as seeing was concerned, by no means the least desirable places. In those alleys and courts opening on the thoroughfare, which were not open to carriages, chairs and benches or tables were placed, and they were made quite impassable

by persons straining to catch a sight of the way by which the procession might pass. From all parts of the town, horsemen, decorated with white favours, were traversing the streets in small parties towards Hyde Park Corner, the place fixed for the meeting of the honorary guard to accompany her Majesty. From ten o'clock the crowd became excessive: the windows were filled with well dressed people, and on the tops of the lofty houses, many persons were stationed to get a bird's-eye view of the procession. The crowd in the streets below seemed of themselves to adopt a mode of preserving a passage. They locked arm in arm leaving only a narrow part of the road betwixt them, but they fell back as the carriages approached. Till eleven o'clock the multitude continually increased, and all the courts and alleys in communication with the thoroughfare were crowded by the continual tide of passengers. At an early hour, various bodies of the trades that had addressed her Majesty, bearing appropriate banners, proceed to Hyde Park Corner.

At half-past twelve o'clock her Majesty entered St. Paul's, and the great organ began to peal a solemn hymn. She was met at the west door by the choir, who, with the Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and the Deputation of the Common Council, preceded her Majesty up the nave and into the choir of the Cathedral in the following order:—

Two Marshalmen,
Members of the Committee, two and two,
The Officers of the Corporation,
Mr. Sheriff Waithman, and Mr. Sheriff Williams,
Her Majesty resting on the arm of the Lord Mayor,
Alderman Wood, and the members of her Majesty's suit,
Lady Hamilton resting on the arm of Mr. Favell,
Members of the Committee.

As her Majesty approached, Mr. Atwood the organist, performed a voluntary and one of Mozart's fugues.

Her Majesty was led by the Lord Mayor to her seat, Lady Hamilton sat immediately on her left; beyond Lady Hamilton sat Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P. and on her Majesty's right sat Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Hobhouse, the latter in a Court dress. The Hon. K. Craven sat at the desk under her Majesty.

Having left the Queen seated, the Lord Mayor, followed by the Aldermen and City Officers, proceeded to the opposite side of the choir and took his seat, Mr. Alderman Wood being on his left, and Sheriffs Waithman and Williams, and

their Under-Sheriffs, on the left of Alderman Wood. The Members of the Corporation who were present then arranged themselves in their proper places. The deputation of Ladies who previously sat on the forms in front of the communion table, now remoyed to the side seats, on each side of the pulpit. Her Majesty was dressed in white with a large white veil thrown over her head, and which she did not raise off her face during the whole time that she was in the Cathedral. As soon as the Queen was placed in her seat she turned round, and kneeling lowly down, offered up the usual silent prayer. Morning service then commenced, her Majesty kneeling down so as to be invisible during all the prayers.

The following are the two last of the Psalms, appointed for the day:—

PSALM CXL. *Eripe me, Domine.*

Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man: and preserve me from the wicked man.

Who imagine mischief in their hearts: and stir up strife all the day long.

They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent: adders poison is under their lips.

Keep me, O Lord, from the hands of the ungodly: preserve me from the wicked men, who are purposed to overthrow my goings.

The proud have laid a snare for me, and spread a net abroad with cords: yea, and set traps in my way.

I said unto the Lord, Thou art my God: hear the voice of my prayers, O Lord.

O Lord God, thou strength of my health: thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.

Let not the ungodly have his desire, O Lord: let not his mischievous imagination prosper, least they be too proud.

Let the mischief of their own lips fall upon the head of them that compass me about.

Let hot burning coals fall upon them: let them be cast into the fire, and into the pit, that they never rise up again.

A man full of words shall not prosper upon the earth: evil shall hunt the wicked person to overthrow him.

Sure I am that the Lord will avenge the poor: and maintain the cause of the helpless.

The righteous also shall give thanks unto thy name: and the just shall continue in thy sight.

PSALM CXLI. *Domine, clamavi.*

Lord, I call upon thee: haste thee unto me, and consider my voice when I cry unto thee.

Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense: and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.

Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth: and keep the door of my lips.

O let not mine heart be inclined to any evil thing: let me not be occupied in ungodly works with the men that work wickedness, lest I eat of such things as please them.

Let the righteous rather smite me friendly: and reprove me.

But not let their precious balms break my head: yea, I will pray yet against their wickedness.

Let their Judges be overthrown in stony places: that they may hear my words, for they are sweet.

Our bones lie scattered before the pit: like as when one breaketh and heweth wood upon the earth.

But mine eyes look unto thee, O Lord God: in thee is my trust, O cast not out my soul.

Keep me from the snare that they have laid for me: and from the traps of the wicked doers.

Let the ungodly fall into their own nets together: and let me ever escape them.

Complete silence pervaded the choir during the time of service, and owing to the arrangements previously made, and which we have given elsewhere, it was not uncomfortably crowded. The Litany was read according to the improved edition, no mention being made of the Queen's name.

The Prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Hayes, and the Litany by the Rev. Mr. Pridden and the Rev. Mr. Pack.

The Service performed was Mr. Nare's, and the Chaunt, Lord Mornington's.

In the general "thanksgiving" the officiating clergyman, Mr. Hayes, one of the minor canons of St. Paul's, omitted the particular thanksgiving which at the request of any individual, it is customary to offer up, and which we understand her Majesty desired might be offered up for her on the present occasion. It is said that Mr. Hughes refused, on the ground that the rubric directs that those may be named as returning thanks who have been previously prayed for, but that the Queen not having been prayed for, could not be named in the thanksgiving.

When the Service was concluded, the Deputation of La-

dies moved towards the door of the choir, and lined a passage, through which her Majesty was to walk on proceeding to her carriage.

The Corporation, Choir, &c. &c. preceded the Queen on her return in the same order as on her entrance—the Lord Mayor walking on the Queen's left, and Mr. Alderman Wood walking backwards before her Majesty to make way through the people, who pressed round her as she passed, offering up their benedictions and prayers for her past and future protection by Divine Providence. Her Majesty graciously acknowledged these offerings of affection and duty with her accustomed gracefulness and condescension. As the Queen proceeded to the great entrance along the nave, the Deputation of Ladies accompanied her.

Any thing like the appearance of St. Paul's Church-yard and Ludgate Hill, as far as the eye could reach, mocks every attempt at description. The houses were absolutely roofed with people, and the fronts of them almost invisible from the crowds that filled the windows, balconies, tops of shops, &c. every individual of whom had a handkerchief or flag, or something else, waving in token of loyalty and devotion to their beloved Queen.

HER MAJESTY'S RETURN.

A few minutes before two, signals were given of her Majesty's return. All became alacrity and attention. At two precisely the procession began to move. Her Majesty was now seen to great advantage, the carriage being opened. This high gratification gave infinite energy to the joy and exultation of all. Her Majesty seemed deeply affected, and signified her sense of the national homage now done to her innocence and moral courage in the most courteous and gracious manner. The Lord Mayor attended her Majesty to Temple-bar, and then returned, loudly and warmly cheered.

The crowd in the Strand continued nearly as thronged as when the procession first passed; in addition to which a vast number of vehicles of every description were stationed close to the footway, the owners of which took advantage of the public feeling by letting out seats and standing room to those who were not fortunate enough to gain admission to any of the houses in the street. For such accommodation, inconvenient as it was, as high as half a crown was in many instances demanded, and readily given. In her passage through the Strand, and on to Hyde Park Corner, her

Majesty was again most enthusiastically cheered. On this occasion, the almost countless thousands who filled the streets, doors, and windows, were gratified with a sight of her Majesty as she passed. Her Majesty's condescension in throwing open her carriage was gratefully acknowledged, and she had thereby the additional gratification of observing more accurately the unaffected and enthusiastic joy which her presence every where inspired. She here enjoyed one of the greatest of all human consolations to a British Queen—a consolation for which Kings and Queens may sigh in vain, unless they deserve it—the proud consciousness of possessing the love and affection of her people, and of never having done any act to forfeit their esteem. After the procession had passed, the assemblage then moved quietly away, as quickly as multitudes so condensed could get from their several places. Every individual appeared to derive personal distinction and gratification from the undisturbed order and complete effect with which the highest tribute of respect and attachment ever paid to a human being was paid to the calumniated and prosecuted, but acquitted and triumphant, Queen-Consort of George IV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,

OUR wise rulers have, in a late Session of Parliament, passed an act for the building of more churches, although the present are almost deserted by the people. They say that more are necessary, and that the active and prompt exertions of the priests are much required, to check the rapid strides of infidelity and blasphemy. The true meaning of which is, that real knowledge is making rapid strides, which will endanger their present system unless a prompt and efficient check be given to it by the priests. Education is so expanding the mind, that false systems of government, religious delusions, and deceptions of all kind will vanish like dew before the sun, when the light of reason shines in all its splendour. To unlearn what we have learned is impossible. To stop the increase of knowledge by threats, persecutions, or force, is folly in the extreme. If it is to be done, it can only be by deception, and that can best be carried on under the title of Christianity. If they can only succeed in making us good Christians, we shall become so tame, submissive, and ignorant of our rights, that they can prac-

rice any sort of imposition on our weakness and credulity. Any man that exercises his reason, or who is not a believer in Christ, is called an infidel; but if he do not believe in either the Prophets, Jesus, Mahomet, or something else as ridiculous, he is sure to be called an atheist, a demon, or a devil, or a something to cause him to be shunned, and hated by society. I need not waste time in endeavouring to expose the folly and impositions of the Church establishment. It is something like our government, it has so completely exposed itself, that every one sees and knows, that it is a disgrace to us as an enlightened nation, and a stumbling block to all improvement. The only thing we have now to look at is, how are we to get rid of it?

If we had none of what are called opposition members in the House of Lords and Commons, the present system would have been buried in oblivion long before this time. It is the pretended oppositionists that have deluded the people, and kept them in suspense from year to year, expecting they would do something for the good of the nation. Without at all examining their conduct and motives; whether they are in unison with our own, whether they are the friends of the nation or only of the governors of it, we have not enquired, but have had implicit confidence in them. If any person has dared to express a doubt of the goodness of the system of our government, both parties, ministerialists and oppositionists would instantly create an alarm, that, there were jacobins, level-liners, and demagogues, who wish to overturn every thing that is ancient, venerable and good. The opposition members have the same interest in the present system as the others. Therefore it is all a farce to suppose that they will ever advocate that change, which will be of real benefit to the nation. No change will be of any use that will allow them to hold such immense tracts of land, church-livings at their disposal, and boroughs that send members to the House of Commons. They have all these things and are not prevented from reforming such abuses as belong to themselves if they were so disposed. As they do not do it, is it not a mockery for them to pretend to be the friends of the people, and advocates for reform. They do not say that it is unjust for any individual to have one hundred thousand a year, while the great mass of the people are in distress and wretchedness; they do not say that kingly and aristocratical power are destructive to good order and good government. Although they have had the experience, the cause and effect of their establishment, the result of which is universal ruin to the nation in which it exists. Yet they cling to it, and support it, in all its evil consequences, and condemn only the little trifling evils that naturally will spring from a corrupt source, which if all that they complain of was remedied, it would be only like a drop in the ocean, imperceptible and of no use.

Just the same sort of trickery is carried on in the established religion, the church is the original, the head, or the ministerialists, and the dissenters are the oppositionists to it. If there had not been

any dissenters from the church, it would never have been able to maintain the delusion it first started upon ; its deceptions have become so exposed and so injurious to the general welfare, that it would long ago have lost all its power to oppress and persecute. It clearly foresaw the natural result that would befall it, if it had not some appearance of liberality, consequently it allowed, encouraged, and advantages were held out to oppositionists ; if they would only adhere to the general maxims of it. That is, to preach for hire, to live in idleness, to fear God and honour the *king*, not to murmur at oppression, however cruel, for it is the will of the Lord ; to be content with starvation, even if plenty be in the land, to submit themselves lowly and reverently to their temporal and spiritual masters, to love their enemies, to do good for evil, to believe that all great and national evils are only to be remedied by faith and prayer, to pray fervently, and wait with patience and forbearance for the Lord to change the hearts of evil-doers. This is the substance of the religion of the church, it is also what all the dissenters which are tolerated adhere to. Then where or in what do they differ ? only in minor points, such as forms of worship, and things too trivial to need statement. Before any sect is tolerated to preach, they are questioned as to what doctrine they mean to adhere to, and if they will support and maintain all these leading points in Christianity, a licence will be granted them to deliver such opinions in any place they appoint so to do. Which licence shall protect them from any opposition—no persons dare oppose their creeds before their hearers or followers. They are also allowed to take what money they can get of their followers for preaching such doctrines. Parsons made under such circumstances and with such great advantages, can never be the advocates of a reform in the church, for their interests are so interwoven that a downfall of the one would be that of the other. The impression on our minds is, that every person ought to enjoy his own religious opinions, and worship his Maker in that way which is the most pleasant to his own feelings, without any interruption by his neighbour. This is a right impression and just feeling. It is a principle we all think we act on but few really do so. No professed Christians do so but in words. They have fenced in their opinions by an act of parliament ; they compel others to agree with them, or forfeit some privilege they would otherwise enjoy ; they with a great deal of zeal and activity, impress on the minds of children a belief in their opinions before they are at a proper age to comprehend them ; they condemn all others who differ from them ; they imprison and persecute all who will not agree to their doctrines ; they will not open their doors to invite a fair discussion, that all parties may profit by it, but they engender a spirit of hostility and an enthusiastic madness in their own obstinacy, and then in a pretended honest expression of words they say, every one has a right to enjoy his own opinion, but he has no right to endeavour to persuade others in it. Nothing but the suppression of such works as the *Age of Reason*, and the forc-

ing of you into a prison, for republishing of them, has caused me to enquire, or doubt the genuineness of the established religion. I was brought up in it from a child, and but a short time back I was a member of the society of methodists. I was a constant attendant at their prayer-meetings, class-meetings, and love-feasts. But when I found that the religion I was professing, dare not stand the fair test of argument, when it was absolutely endangered by such men as Paine, and required the strong arm of the government to protect and support it. I was then convinced that it must be a rotten foundation laid by man and liable to decay ; and not the works of the God of Nature which do not alter or decay, or fear the rude hands of men, which require no act of parliament to support them, but are open to all, enjoyed by all, and the more we search into them the more we see to admire.

Religion is a feeling in the mind, of adoration and gratitude to the God of Nature, for the wonderful and sublime order that governs the whole. It is a feeling that is implanted in our nature ; it can only depart and decay with it. To make any improvement upon it, is as impossible as it would be to improve upon our natural construction. To believe that we ought to express this feeling on particular days, in particular places, and at particular times, with particular forms and ceremonies is a species of insanity ; which has been created in the imagination of the mind when the judgment was sleeping. To believe that a religious feeling requires the work of man to establish and promote it is absurd. If we believe in the Creator of the Universe that we are the creatures of his creation, we must also believe that he has created in us a feeling of gratitude to him, and has not left it for man to do. Never will true religion reign freely in the mind so long as pretenders to it are allowed to receive money for preaching or for instructing others in their opinions ; if they were truly religious, a feeling of sympathy and respect, or the luxury of doing good, would amply pay the generous heart. If the government of the country would prevent or make it punishable, as a crime in receiving money or emoluments of any kind, merely for delivering their religious opinions, then we should see who were the real good and truly religious. Our churches, chapels, and meetings, would soon all be shut up. Reason would again take its seat on the mind and direct its course. The infuriated storm of superstition, the spirit of persecution, and the convulsion of fear would subside, and men's minds would become calm and serene, and pursue the natural and steady course enjoying all the beauties of the creation as they flow. A pleasing reflection on the past, and an affectionate feeling to all our brethren.

THOMAS SINGLE.

Nov. 24, 1820.

MR. DAVISON.

THE Vice Lords and Vice Gentry are determined not to let this captive slip through their hands, and have refused him a trial, for it cannot be said that he had a trial before, when the eager and impatient Best told the Jury with joy and an exulting countenance, that he had succeeded in cutting up the defence. This is a more infamous piece of business than has been practised yet. Judge Abbott certainly conducted himself with something like decency, on the mock trials of the Editor of this publication, when compared with Best, although, he too succeeded by his wiles in cutting up the defence. But whatever he felt he took care not to express satisfaction at it. Best seems to be a candidate under the auspices of Castlereagh for the Chief Justiceship. We shall then hear no more of the names of Scroggs and Jeffries, and, in fact, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Evans, two gentlemen at the bar, gave Mr. Best a pretty strong hint that he was trying to outstrip those worthies of old in his career on the Bench; and the blinking creature felt a conscious guilt of the propriety of the attack, for he wriggled under it, and could not sit easy and composed for an hour afterwards. Mr. Cooper in his statement of Mr. Davison's case has displayed much ability and honest boldness, and it is high time that some of the gentlemen at the bar, should obtain the ear of the Court by denouncing the corrupt and partial career of the Political Judges who preside in it. The following is Mr. Davison's sentence on which we shall offer a few remarks next week as it did not reach us in time for the present.

That the defendant should be imprisoned in Okeham gaol, in the county of Rutland, for a term of two years; at the expiration of that period to find securities, himself in £200, and two other persons in 20l. each, for his good behaviour, during a further term of five years; and to be imprisoned until such sureties should be found.

Mr. Davison gratefully acknowledges the receipt of five pounds, through the hands of Mrs. Carlile, from "An Enemy to Persecution."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Q. R. S. T. will find a letter at Fleet-street, directed to him on Tuesday the 5th instant.

ERRATA.

As we left to the printer the making out the list of Paine's Works, last week, some apparent errors have been committed. All the Pieces marked "not seen" should have been omitted to correspond with the head, as they have never been published or seen in England, as far as the Publisher knows. And, in addition to that error, the following Pieces should have been marked as imperfect, of which it would be very desirable to get perfect copies. *Agrarian Justice*, (imperfect in the Preface)—*Letter to Camille Jourdan*—*Letter to the People and Armies of France*—*To Forgetfulness*: with the remainder of the *Reply to the Bishop of Landaff*.

In consequence of a Piece being thrown out which was intended for the last number, the printer also furnished the article entitled "Was Jesus the Messiah or not?" which we do not understand to be an original, although it be introduced as such. Also, the *Political Progress of Great Britain*, should have been acknowledged, as an extract from Callender's *Political Progress of Great Britain*, an excellent pamphlet which exiled the author from Scotland in the year 1792 or 1793. This pamphlet is the best commentary on the Revolution of 1688 that can be found, and it would be well if some persons who are fond of dealing in data, (which we confess we are not) would continue that work down to the present time.

The Editor enters his protest against Mr. Callender's objections to a popular election. Where universal suffrage prevails there must inevitably be a free and unbiassed choice, and the people will improve their choice of representatives in the same ratio as they improve themselves in useful knowledge. The extract was not sent to the press by the Editor, or he would have shortened it by the last paragraph. It is ridiculous to compare the present state of political knowledge to the times of Thucydides, or Plutarch, or Guicciardini, or Machiavel. The principles of government, as laid down by Thomas Paine, will obscure every former writer on political economy. No former writer ever had the opportunity of connecting the practical with the theoretical part of political economy as Paine had. The writings of Paine will stand as a monument of political wisdom when Montesquieu, Machiavel, Vattel, and a hundred others, are confined to the hands and the library of the antiquary.